3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

231 Bees are also domesticated occasionally (see fig. 4, *d*).

262 824 **Wild Foods.** The *Boruca* are very fond of flowers from certain bushes and trees. Among these can be listed the white blossom of the wild *majagua* (*Hampea* sp., and other spp.), the red blossom of the *poró* tree (probably *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli), the green inflorescence of the *disciplina*, a variety of palm called *ʃjt* in Boruca which is probably a dwarf *Chamaedorea*; the inflorescence of the pacaya palm (*Chamaedorea* sp.) and the inflorescence of a palm called *sem-kra'* (*Carludovica palmata* R. & P.) the leaves of which are used to make hats (see p. 18). In addition to these items, the heart of the corozo palm (*Corozo oleifera* [HKB] L. H. Bailey), the royal palm *palma real* (*Scheelea rostrata* [Oerst.] Burret), and the heart or inflorescences of various palmitos including the black *chonta* or stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.), certain small mushrooms called *oskwa*, which grow on fallen trees, and appear between the rows of corn after the first rains, the fruit of the *ojoche* (*Brosimum terrabanum* Pittier), and various berries are frequently used for food.

262 825 **Food Animals — Hunting.** These Indians are very fond of meat, and wild game is always welcome. The birds most widely hunted are the crested guan (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) the *paweel* or curassow (*Crax rubra* Linn.), the chestnut-headed tinamou (*Tinamus major* Gmel.), and pigeons (*Columba* sp.). Toucans (*Ramphastos swainsonii* Gould) are also favorite food birds.

Animal diet consists of game, including wild pigs (*Pecari angulatus Cope*) and another species (*Tayassu pecari* Fischer), the *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), deer (both *Mazama sartorii* Saussure and *Odocoilus* Boddaert), *tepezcuintle*, a member of the badger family (*Coelogenys paca*), the red monkey (*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl), and the white-faced monkey (*Cebus capucinus* Linn.). The river is full of fish, the chief sorts being a form of perch (*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.), a fresh-water mullet (*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.), croakers and snook (*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey), as well as large crayfish and a smaller specie which is caught only in the summertime, and river crabs (*Pseudothelphusa magna*). From the sea, various fish and shell

262 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the
825 Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachaesis muta*). Traps are
223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to
[411 shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting
177] have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 Fishing. The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine
[824 (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash
278] the bark of the *espavel* (*Anarcardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an
[227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

383 occasionally used on the dug-out canoes. This rubber has to be beaten before applied. It is put on cracks or fragile places in the boat, and the glue from the *tuskra'* palm (see p. 19) is put on top of this (see p. 15). Pieces of old rubber inner tubes collected from the coast are used by the boys for sling shots (see p. 8).

[439 524]

281 **Skins.** Hides are sun-dried without any preservative, buzzards and chickens being allowed to pick the skin clean. They are used for beds (see p. 13), to dry cotton (see p. 16), corn, and other grains (see p. 9), and for drums (see p. 29).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood is important for the houses of the *Boruca* (see p. 11), for the low benches, mortars to husk grains, shafts of agricultural implements, weaving implements, canoes, fishing gear, and, occasionally as hives for bees. The only use of stone at present is for grinding corn and cacao.

324

[Continued p. 20-B, first paragraph]

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

805 [825] The first four hours of the day are told by cock crows.[82] The Indians talk of the "first crow of the cock; the second," etc., up to the fourth. From then on the telling of the hour is dependent on the breaking of dawn and the sun. The *Boruca* also watch the moon, using its various stages during the month as a gage for planting and even for cutting a tree. They also calculate the divisions of the year by the

[continued p. 20-B, second paragraph]

LIFE CYCLE

844 [783] **Birth.** Before the birth of a child, as well as after the birth, the house is purified with the incense of copal (*Protium costaricense* [Rose] Engler) (see p. 24), mixed with castor oil, or, sometimes, with the oil from the copaiba or *camíbar* tree (*Prioria copaifera* Griseb.) which grows in the Diquis Valley. The oil is used only as a binder, and to add to the burning quality. This mixture is put in *comales* (see p. 19) under the bed. The mother is given a purgative of *cordoncillo* (see p. 11), both before and after the birth, and is also given the liquid left from boiling the bark of the *camíbar* tree. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife made of cane, *caña blanca* (see p.

[continued p. 20-B, third paragraph]

[82] Pittier, 1941, p. 84, also calls attention to this fact.

796 the Immaculate Conception is carried, in the procession, by four women picked by the priest. A food bazaar is held in the church yard, and the only ancient vestige that can be seen is the dance of the *negritos* (see p. 29), who generally precede the procession, but sometimes appear later in the day. This variation depends upon the priest. Frequently, the priest feels that the dance is too pagan and should not be performed in the solemn march.

[798]

771 **Superstitions and Beliefs.** There are certain superstitions and beliefs peculiar to the *Boruca* which may be associated with their former credence. When planting, the Indians water the newly sown seeds with water mixed with soil from the cemetery. This is supposed to keep the rats and other rodents from eating the seeds. All the Indians are afraid of thunder, believing that it is closely allied with bad luck. When it thunders in the hills on the east side of the Diquis or Térraba River, the *Boruca* say that a large snake is moving his tail. This snake used to live near El Sapo, in these hills, but when Monseñor Thiel, the former Archbishop of Costa Rica, passed through this region on one of his missionary trips, the snake moved, from fear of the Archbishop, to the headwaters of the Balsar River, west of the Diquis River. Here he is today, in a very steep and isolated spot where no one can find him.

241

921

When it thunders toward the south, they claim that the two pejibaye palms which grow on the summit of the Hill of the Sorcerer are angry. The wind that blows at night is a soul in pain. It is interesting that the Indians still tell, and actually believe, that without the help of the *sukia*[35a] there would not now be game around Boruca, and so, of course, all the people would have died. They say that eighteen years ago there was no game in the vicinity. A *sukia* from Talamanca was summoned. He went to a high mountain which lies south of the present village of Boruca. This mountain is called "El Cerro del Encanto," or "Hill of the Sorcerer." A great noise was heard. When he returned, there were many wild peccary in the neighborhood. They still recount and believe that "Tatica Cuazarn," the mythical sorcerer who lives on the Hill of the Sorcerer, used to visit Boruca

825

773

[35a] See below.

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
[755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949 SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

825

APPENDIX B: NAMES OF [illegible] ANIMALS, FISH, AND REPTILES

ENGLISH	IN COSTA RICA	SCIENTIFIC
	A	
armadillo	*cosuco; armadillo*	*Dasypus novemcinctus* Linn.
	B	
bee (wild) from Caños Island[1]		*Apis Trigona* or *Apis Melipona*?
bee (wild)	*jicote*	*Melipona bechii* supp. *bechii*
beehunter	*cascabela muda*	*Lachesis mutus*
	C	
clam	*almeja*	?
crab (river)	*cangrejo del rio*	*Pseudothelphusa magna*
crayfish	*camarón*	?
croaker	*roncador*	?
curassow	*pavoel*	*Crax rubra* Linn.
	D	
deer	1) *cabra* 2) *venado*	1) *Mazama sartorii* Saussure 2) *Odocoilus* Boddaert
	G	
guan (crested)	*pava*	*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.
gustus	*gustusa*	*Dasyprocta* sp.
	M	
macaw (scarlet)	*lapa; guacamaya*	*Ara macao* Linn.
mollusk (large for purple dye)	*caracol; morada*	*Purpura patula* Gould
mollusk (small, for purple dye)	*caracol; molusco*	*Purpura kiosquiformis* Duclos
monkey (red)	*mono colorado*	*Ateles geoffroyi* Kuhl
monkey (white-faced)	*carablanca*	*Cebus capucinus* Linn.
mullet (fresh water)	*sepemachin*	*Agonostomus monticola* C. V.
	P	
parakeet	*perico*	*Aratinga canicularis* Linn.
parrot	*loro*	*Amazona auropalliata* Less.
perch	*mojarra*	*Cichlasoma altifrons* Kner. & Steind.
pig (peccary)	*chancho del monte*	*Pecari angulatus* Cope
pig (wild boar?)	*cariblanco*	*Tayassu pecari* Fischer
pigeon	*paloma*	*Columba* sp.
pigeon (white wing)		
	S	
snook	*robalo*	*Centropomus pectinatus* Poey
	T	
tepezcuintle	*tepezcuintle*	*Coelogenys paca*
tinamou (chestnut-headed)	*gallina del monte*	*Tinamus major* Gmel.
toucan	*curré*	*Rhamphastos ruasinonii* Gould

[386]

[1] The result of the analysis of the sample of Caños Island Wild Bees Wax by the Laboratorio Químico Oficial, Repúblics de Costa Rica, was the following:

Resin	78.17%
Wax	8.65%
Substances insoluble in ether	13.18%
	100.00%

Humidity	3.12%
Ashes	3.20%
Sugars	0.00%
Gloss	0.00%

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[p. 41]

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

1. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

589 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
SAI9 Talamanca SAI9

539 willed, "May he let me have the whistle! May he look back into the house!" And as this happened, Sibú ran away and ran on whistling all the while. Meanwhile Sórkura thought he would go and set him an ambush on the path. He took four of his spears and his shield, hung his conch upon a string around his body, and said to his people: "I will go and kill Sibú; when you hear my conch resound, Sibú shall be dead. Then you are to warm up my cacao, as I will soon be back." He then went and waited for Sibú to pass by, and when Sibú came along, he threw one of his spears at him. But Sibú had on the back of his head another ear, which warned him that some one was going to shoot at him. The spear fell noisily on his side. Sórkura made another throw, but without effect. And now Sibú took one of the spears in his hand, and threw it at Sórkura, who received it on his shield. Then Sibú willed, "I will kill Sórkura; may he look over his shield!" Then he took a new aim, and Sórkura was shot just in the middle of his face. And Sibú took the conch, and blew: *Tuú, tuú*, so that the woods resounded, and he cut Sórkura's body into pieces with his knife, and made it into flesh, bones, blood, and bowels, which ever since have been [787] things of ill-omen to us.[1] Sórkura's people waited long, and kept his chocolate warm for him; but he never came back. Sibú had killed Sórkura!

V. THE KING OF THE TAPIRS.

[825] Like the wild hogs and the deer, the tapirs have also their king. Two Bribri went hunting into the woods, each one carrying his bow and arrows. They met with a white tapir, and tried to kill it; but they did not succeed. Both ran after it, but they lost its track, and one of them went astray, no one ever knew how. The other looked for him everywhere, but did not find him. So he went back to his home, where he asked for his companion, and, as he had not come back, everybody thought that he had met with a mishap, and lost his life.

The lost man ran far away behind the tapir until he lost sight of it; then he stood still to rest. Soon his ear perceived the crowing of a cock. He then thought that there was some house near, and, having gone to see, he got to a large *palenque*.[2] He went in, and

[1] Every time the Indians find in the woods leaves sprinkled with blood, or bones and excrement, the origin of which they cannot explain, they see in them Sórkura's relics, and turn away with awe; also leaves having the appearance of being spotted with blood, such as frequently occur in certain groups of plants (*Araceæ*, *Begonia*, *Columnea*, etc.), are considered to be of the same origin, and are signs of ill-omen for the undertaking they are engaged upon.

[2] Palenque is the *Spanish* or possibly *Nahua* word employed in Costa Rica to [104] designate the large conical houses of the Bribri, who call the same *ö-suri*.

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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there was standing a man of stately appearance. He asked, "Here I am; how art thou?" The other answered, "Well; why didst thou come here?" And he told how he had shot at a tapir, and had lost it. Then the man of the house went on, and said, "Why dost thou shoot to play? When thou shootest, do it so as to kill, so that the poor beast does not fall a prey to the worms. But I see thou art tired, so come in and have a seat." And he brought him *chicha*, and gave him to eat the meat of the tapir at which the hunter had shot without effect, but which the owner of the house had killed. 539

And when he had rested, drunk, and eaten, the hunter said that he had visited his host. But this one replied, "There, take thou this piece of cane, and plant it at thine home, and when the cane has grown its full growth again, then, but not until then, shalt thou be able to speak once more."

When the hunter got to his house, he could not utter even a word, so he planted the cane; and it grew, and when it had attained its full height, then the hunter could talk again, and he told all that had happened to him.

The man in whose house the hunter had been was the king of the tapirs, and this is why he treated him so.

VI. THE KING OF THE WILD HOGS.

Among the beasts, the wild hogs also have a king. He is to all appearance like a very white and good-looking fellow, who goes through the woods with a big stick in his hand. He lives in an enchanted place on the heights of San-krá-ua, and his door is guarded by a huge tiger. 773 825

The king of the hogs is displeased when the Indians wound his subjects without killing them at once. Once upon a time there was in Boruca one of those bad hunters who had the reputation of being a bad archer, and who always wounded the animals, but never killed them. One day he went into the woods, and met with a large herd of hogs, after which he ran and ran, without being able to reach them. When he paid attention to the place he had got into, he saw that he had gone astray. Then he went ahead until he came into the presence of the king of the hogs, who caught him by the throat and said, "Why dost thou hurt all my hogs without ever killing them? Now thou shalt suffer for it, because thou shalt remain in my hands until thou hast healed them all." And there he stayed for a long time, healing hogs; and at the beginning they did not let him heal them, but came upon him to bite. So that he suffered a thousand deaths, until they were cured a little, and became so tame as to follow him everywhere. [224] 539

When there were no more hogs to cure, the king called our

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*) ½ Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

½ [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks. . . ." [84] In the 20th century, there is no trace [178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the [177] Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of rouge and using lipstick which they buy. [751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on festive occasions, during short periods of group [474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear [237] headdresses made of white feathers and of macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).

301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today, [825] boys use these necklaces "to get them used to hunting and take away fear of the jaguar." Beads made from sea shells are mixed with these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell [178] strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Chil- [777] dren have a "good luck" necklace called *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark [824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be immune to disease and to propagate of its own [237] accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved), bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When financially possible, women wear strands of [439] red beads which are bought in trading posts or commissaries. There are no earrings in the remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck- 184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and [777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is worn. Here women wear earrings and single [439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling merchants.

TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

[P. 26(A)]

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Bribri
Cabecar

Past	Present	Future
5 days past *skéLi*		5 days after today *skéiki*
6 days past *térik*		6 days after today *teriki*

805
192

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

LIFE CYCLE

784
[182]
[756]
[184]
[609]

All events of life are bound by tabus and fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, certain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

843

Pre-natal. Both Gabb [98] and Pittier [99] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okụm* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[753]
[825]
[761]
[184]

[262]

Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

[98] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

[P. 30(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

later. Here it is necessary to note, however, that certain vestiges of traditional customs persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra. When a person has been dead and buried a year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same grave.

Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites. There is an elaborate group of officials connected with death and burial rites even today. Each division requires certain preparation by the individual taking part in the rites. In a sense, these participants can be classed as lay clergy. These "professionals," if so they can be called, are of utmost importance when one realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person should touch someone dead, a three-day purification ceremony is absolutely essential or misfortune will befall him. This is true of both slopes of the range.

The principal figure in these rituals is the medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in importance today is the Burier (*see* The Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead. Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers) whose place is now generally taken by the medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the Pacific side, functions in all of these positions. Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the *ǯarichək*, who need no special training but who prepare the things for the dead to take with them *without* touching the body.

The preparation and position of the medicine man is treated under religion because in addition to his curing abilities, he personifies the last remaining vestiges of former credences and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death and burial have duties concerned solely with these operations. They do not seem to form part, as has been said by some, of the priesthood, but do have a decided social position because of their task.

The Buriers. They are known as *ókub* or *ókuṃ* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are the only people, aside from the medicine man who is all important, who can touch the dead. They must also light the funeral fire. They are the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard or a possum.

764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burío*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the [775] ceremonial one which had the food for the dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[797] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] [756] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [777] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté ɨuwɔk* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the [767] world. The task of the Singer was performed by the medicine man and the Buriers, four [533] in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

Funeral and Bone Burial. Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[115] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Analyst]
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *tsiriwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
[423] with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[752] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the complete group and the medicine man in

[115] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[116] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
[692] usual method is for the family of the culprit
to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
[681] treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
184 is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[423] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
[484] Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
184 the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[422] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
692 not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
565 classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[793] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[643] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
179

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756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [784] is extremely important because without a staff [776] contact with the spirit, *duLær*, the messenger of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLær*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLær* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, • [825] quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis Episcopus Diaconus* Lesson), hawk, parraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ikikë*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *sikkare*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *sikkëo*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *macbillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

755 787 [776] The stones are also consulted for curing and for prophesying the result. When one of the *sig* is confronted with a question concerning the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 [776] [783] Tabus. *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see* Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanliness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *ksiok* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] [841] [842] [783] [752] The first menstrual period is particularly *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

825 [779] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza- [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 47(B)-Analyst]

173 926 Recent History—Wars. A fine line is drawn between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 47(B)-Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21-22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102-105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488-89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

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784 825 779 224 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquizque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the protector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənịtswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tɸmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tɸmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tɸmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tɸmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the [753] mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the [753] *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLášibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLášibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[192]

[147] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ki* in Bribri and *namú* in Cabécar.
[148] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

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* 539 which annoyed *sibu*. He sent to *okama*, a person who had tools, to fell it. *okama* was not very willing to carry out *sibu's* bidding until the latter said, "Listen to the sound of that tree. Soon it will break the air."

This convinced *okama* and he agreed to help down it. Then *sibu* told the deer to run and make a trail so that the tree could fall. This is the reason why the deer runs swiftly.

He sent the kingfisher and the cormorant with orders to take an end of the tree and make a large circle in the air until the two met. With that the tree fell and turned to water becoming the sea.

When the tree was in the sky, all the birds made nests in it. With its transformation into the sea, the nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles, and the leaves turned to crabs.

After this happened, Thunder broke a stone and from it pulled the large son of the devil and flattened him out in a round shape, making earth from him. This is why the earth is round.

Then *sibu* wanted to plant so he sent for a devil called Earthquake and said, "Move the earth."

Another devil, however, said to Earthquake, "Move the earth so that people will know that when there are earthquakes nothing will take root and sickness will come."

sibu liked the idea, so he planted wood and maize. The maize sprouted into men who were the Cabécares and Bribri. Then the bat asked, "*sibu*, how'll you pay me for being cut by the devil?"

"Oh," said *sibu*, "Just wait until there are people in the world and cows and pigs and horses. If you want to eat, you can eat these."

• [825] "Thanks," replied the bat. And it is for this reason that the bat likes to suck the blood of animals and of men.

There were now men but nothing to eat. So *sibu* said that he would bring and plant large pumpkins (*ayote*), yuca, *tiquizque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), plantains, *ñame*, and alligator pears. He brought the pumpkins, and from them came *tepezcuintles* (*Cuniculus virgatus*). He brought *tiquizque*, and from it came the wild boar. He brought yuca, and from it came the fish. The large plantain turned to deer, the *ñame* to tapirs, and the alligator pear to monkeys.

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*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuŋban*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karɨbikɨ-*

[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the *frigate* bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colymbidae* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

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(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio político*, and had another son called *cubura*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[825]

[178]

[180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajerra* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 776 821 823 [825] *amus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt for the bad spirit and see if he can save human lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 776 821 [825] *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one river to another, over mountains and around rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one [756 789] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medicine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756 761] Also when there is something making people afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą* (*bák namą*) couldn't drown the people.

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Cabecar

make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamú* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamú*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

(*Cabécar*)

When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

Mano del Tigre is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamáte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namú tá* (jaguar print).

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Cabecar

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 ●[825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 614 [824] ●[825] *grunwák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or *sənítswa*.

The snake is the protector of the *kibegruwák* clan because long ago at *sənítswa*, where they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

sibusuLa[196]

*539 778 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

Beliefs Concerning Neighbors of the Cabécares[197]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 186 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

The Dance

(*Bribri*)

*539 535 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

[103] 779 [177]

[196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

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Cabécar
Bribri

*589 [595] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

sibu came in the form of a buzzard
dressed as a man,
Collar on his neck.
The collar reflected,
He came with the collar
Ejené, ekujé,[189]
Ejené, eanjé,[189]
He came to give us the dance
He came from the air.
Ejené, ekujé,
Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [189] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Gusymí of Panama.
[593] [189] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

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cabecar
Bribri

Non-Theological Tales.

* 539
825

The Grandmother of the Toad

(*Bribri*)

buké winchké is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so.

[761]

Why the Toads Have Ugly Buttocks

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

The Alligator[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

sibu was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

The Iguana

(*Cabécar*)

sibu heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

[136]

[201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

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Bribri
* 539
825

The Armadillo

(*Cabécar*)

sibu wanted someone to guard the corn. The armadillo offered himself saying, "I can because I have no teeth."

On the third day, however, *sibu* discovered that the armadillo was eating the corn and he beat him. The animal cried and said to *sibu*, "If you throw me in the water, I won't die, but if you throw me on the earth I'll die."

sibu threw him on the earth and the armadillo promptly dug a hole.

The Armadillo

(*Bribri*)

The armadillo wanted to steal the four grains of maize *sibu* had to form the nation (our race). He planned to use a shell as a basket to carry them.

sibu found out and told the armadillo he should not do this and certainly should not use that shell.

"Don't punish me and you'll see I can be very useful," said the armadillo and put the shell on his back.

sibu picked him up by the tail and started to throw him when the animal said, "Don't throw me in the air. Throw me on the land."

sibu did so and where he fell he made a hole. The armadillo kept on digging in the hole. This is why he has a shell and why he lives in the earth.

The Lizard

(*Cabécar*)

sibu ordered the lizard to go underground on a mission for him. Instead of going, he forgot and slept in the sun. As a punishment, *sibu* put cacao butter on his back so that whenever he goes in the sun he shines.

The Crab

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

The crab was *sibu's* helper and was sent to earth to see what he could find. He dug in and fresh water came up for man.

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[P. 67(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Cabecar Bribri

The Spider

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 825

Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

[177]

The Whale

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

The Congo Monkey and Lightning

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

* 539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a powerful creature like the jaguar would also have a tremendously loud voice, every animal and person in the world would be afraid of him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller monkey who lived in the trees could make a loud noise. *sibu*, however, would not let the monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

RECREATION

517 521 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting for the sake of chatting or exchanging news. In the large houses, each family group of women and older children relaxes by the individual fire, squatting on low benches and talking in almost inaudible voices. The men lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men [538] and women often tell theological or lay "histories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the [184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is followed although both men and women are seen talking on the long low benches or on logs more often than in hammocks. Conversation 521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Reunions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often, [184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks with the men. Women among themselves talk of children or household chores. There is little [888] interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to as *kéké*, a term of great respect. Occasionally, 431 presents of a piece of game are made to a neighboring household, especially on the Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from 484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as these people do not undertake a trip alone, [576] pause at the door of a house and wait for permission to enter. It depends upon their social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--QUALYST]

*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

warns when it is going to rain by howling in the morning and in the afternoon.

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

of food and drink will be offered them. Conversation, in this case, is confined almost entirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed as recreation for the men as well as part of their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

Women and young girls of the same family, particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bí	*rər*	*wɛbLa*	*suLue*	*ɛs*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɛn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋ́* which is a very strong term.

Reunions. Reunions, although pre-Columbian

[202] *See* Linguistic Term: *lipo* (coyeo).

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539

4. There is the turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool, Someone passed me.
(*Z*) Shell pool,[213] devil pool, dance of *kúswa*, dance [of *kúswa*].
(*J*) *Ledj*[214] horizon,[215] beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon.

5. Brave child, beautiful horizon, brave child he, ended brave.

6. *See* Linguistic Text.

7. I say nothing more.

21. The Dance of *duLẹto*[216] (*Bribri*)

1. The elders are going to [dance] *duLẹto*;
Let's go [dance] *duLẹto*;
Let's dance; now let's walk. (*Z*) In the front place there is no place to see.

2. Sir,[217] sir, *masLakéLa*.[218]
It touches, touches [the other world].
Lari river does not touch, touch.

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4. jockoko kaaenje ta-kuea, kuen-dí, ta-kuen-dí, Lạn-dí, ta-səLəLa səLonchi, ta-doa-donchi.
(*Z*) ˀtadon-dí,[219] suen[220]-dí, iberke kosa jẹ́-iberke.
(*J*) jẹ́-Ledj ta-mạtedia ta-Lotedia, ta-nạ́wengiwẹ,[221] ta-nạ́wendia, taigewendiaLe, taigewendiaLe.

5. ta-natẹ́ manbLi,[224] taigewendiaLe, ta-natẹ́-i-manbLi, taiLote[225] manbLi.

6. kaake[226] kaajeje jackoajeé.

7. ẽjke-bér-iche.

21. duLẹto[227]

1. sképépa mi-duLẹto;
mjíka duLẹtak;
sədaLetẹ́; ikẹ́-səəlka. (*Z*) woka[228] kélạ́ kjaạ́k aje-kạni-kéta.

2. kéké, kéké, masLakéLa.[229]
i-kana, kana[230]
di-paLị Larj kei[231]-kana kana.

[535]
[825]

[213] Certain shells were part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Medicine Man's Paraphernalia).
[214] This is a name.
[215] Literally, "where ends the sky."
[216] This is a dance name as in English one says waltz or fox trot.
[217] This is a term of respect used for elders.
[218] A mountain going down the Lari River.
[219] *tadon* is the *caracol* or water snail.
[220] *suen* is Térraba for *Lan*.
[221] This and the following three words signify "to adorn."
[224] This is a Térraba word to signify "something red" or "reflects."
[225] Literally, "closed" or "finished" or "end."
[226] These three words are included for sound only.
[227] This song is in part Bribri and in part Cabécar.
[228] The following is in Cabécar.
[229] "The other world" is understood here.
[230] Bribri begins.
[231] This is Cabécar.